7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

been told about two such marriages which seem to have been contracted in fairly recent times. I think that the main reason why the noble Tuareg do not marry with their vassals is that such marriages would tend to break down the structure of the political system, as the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many in-laws among vassals to whom the conduct would be institutional joking or avoidance. For in addition to true relatives by marriage there are numerous classificatory ones. This will become clear from the description of the rules of behaviour valid for relatives by marriage.

In spite of the application of the rules of joking relationship on a political level, troubles within the drum-group were far from unknown. And it is remarkable that even between the related tribes of *Irawatten* and *Kel Azel* there might be very severe quarrels. There was a latent opposition between them which might occasionally lead to fighting between noble Tuareg of the two groups. The existence within the drum-group of another noble tribe, the *Kel Azel*, with a certain number of vassals was always a danger to the position of the drum-chief as a ruler of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group. And noble Tuareg of the *Irawatten* tribe say that in the past it even happened that the drum-chief punished the *Kel Azel* very severely, not only taking all their livestock, but also burning down their camps. The drum-chief was able to maintain his power over the whole *Kel Ferwan* group because most vassal tribes were placed directly under his command, and because these tribes camped around Agadez which was dominated by him.

The drum-chief also had trouble with another tribe of his group, the *Kel Akerra*. This tribe is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the *Ibararojiten* tribe. In the past the drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group imposed vassalage upon the *Kel Akerra*, who, however, refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the *Kel Akerra* to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the *Kel Akerra* tribe became small and insignificant. It is said that the tribes of *Imezzureg* and *Isakaranan*, who like the *Kel Akerra* are noble by origin, also did not give their bride-wealth to the drum-chief in the past. But the three tribes were vassals in the sense that they had to give part of their war-booty to the drum-chief and could not carry out raids on their own.

A certain discord reigned within the *Kel Ferwan* group, but the drum-chief had the support of most tribes of vassals, who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups, but also quell internal insurrections. However, the three northern tribes of *Kel Tédalé* were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from the rest of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. They were only nominally part of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the *Kel Tédalé* paid no tribute to other chiefs (Joubert 1939, p. 246), though it is said in Ahaggar that in the past they paid an annual tribute to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. But the *Kel Tédalé* were politically independent of other groups in Ayr, which is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim the *Kel Tédalé* to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104; Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three tribes the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427). The *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg I met all emphasized